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PAGE 01 STATE 252897

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FROM WASHINGTON

TO AIG 6006, 6007

NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

POLITICAL ANALYSIS: CH'IAO KUAN-HUA'S "STATE OF THE WORLD"

ADDRESS BEFORE THE UN

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: PRC FOREIGN MINISTER CH'IAO KUAN-HUA'S
SPEECH BEFORE THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 26
REFLECTED CONTINUING CHINESE EFFORTS TO COURT THE THIRD
WORLD AND TO ESTABLISH CHINA AS AN INTERNATIONAL LEADER OF
COMPARABLE IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 252897

UNION. TOWARD THESE ENDS, CH'IAO STRESSED TWO THEMES:

(A)--THE DANGEROUS "SUPERPOWER" PREPARATION FOR WAR AND
COMPETITION FOR SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND HEGEMONY; AND

(B)--THE INCREASINGLY SUCCESSFUL THIRD WORLD STRUGGLES TO OBTAIN INDEPENDENCE AND EQUITABLE TREATMENT FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

2. IN CONTRAST WITH LAST YEAR'S SPEECH, THE PRC FOREIGN MINISTER:

(A)--PUT GREATER EMPHASIS ON THE GROWING DANGER OF WAR BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR;

(B)--WAS MORE CRITICAL OF THE UNITED STATES;

(C)--EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THOSE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WHICH SEEK THEIR INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SUPERPOWERS AND ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A "DIALOGUE" WITH THE THIRD WORLD.
END SUMMARY.

3. CH'IAO REITERATED THE GENERAL LINE ON THE WORLD SITUATION WHICH WAS TAKEN BY PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AT LAST JANUARY'S NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. CH'IAO SAID THAT "THE FACTORS FOR BOTH REVOLUTION AND WAR ARE INCREASING ON A WORLD SCALE," AND HE WARNED OF THE "GROWING DANGER OF WAR" FOUR TIMES IN HIS INTRODUCTION. LAST YEAR, CH'IAO WAS MORE RESTRAINED, QUOTING MAO'S MAY 20, 1970, DICTUM THAT THE "DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR STILL EXISTS... BUT REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND TODAY," AND ADDING ONLY THAT THE DANGER OF WAR IN OCTOBER 1974 WAS NO LESS THAN IN 1973. THIS YEAR'S EMPHASIS ON THE GROWING DANGER OF WAR IS AIMED AT DISCREDITING US-USSR DETENTE, CSCE, AND OTHER DETENTE-RELATED SOVIET PROPOSALS.

4. AGAIN THIS YEAR, THE SOVIET UNION BORE THE BRUNT OF CHINA'S ATTACKS, LEAVING NO DOUBT THAT THE CHINESE STILL PERCEIVE THE SOVIETS AS THE MORE THREATENING SUPERPOWER. HOWEVER, IN CONTRAST WITH CH'IAO'S UN REMARKS IN 1973 AND 1974, THIS SPEECH CONTAINED MORE DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 252897

UNITED STATES. CH'IAO'S DISCUSSION OF KOREA CONTAINED THE MOST POINTED BARBS:

(A)--HE ACCUSED THE US OF PERSISTENT "OBSTRUCTIONS" AND "SABOTAGE" IN THE QUEST FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN KOREA.

(B)--HE REJECTED US PROPOSALS FOR UN COMMAND CHANGES AND TALKS ON PRESERVING THE KOREAN ARMISTICE AS "COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE."

(C)--HE CONCLUDED THAT: "THE FACTS OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES AND MORE PROVE THAT US INTERFERENCE IN KOREA IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF CONSTANT TENSIONS IN KOREA."

LAST YEAR, CH'IAO OMITTED SUCH TALKS, SUGGESTING ONLY THAT THE PRESENCE OF US TROOPS EMBOLDENED SOUTH KOREAN AUTHORITIES TO SABOTAGE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

5. CH'IAO'S HARSH COMMENTS ON KOREA WERE NO DOUBT PARTLY IN PREPARATION FOR THE APPROACHING GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON THE TERMINATION OF THE UN COMMAND IN KOREA. THEY MAY ALSO BE PART OF THE PRICE FOR CLOSER PRC-NORTH KOREAN TIES. CRITICISM OF US ACTIVITIES AND PROPOSALS IN OTHER AREAS ALSO SEEMS INTENDED, IN PART, TO DRAW A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN AMERICAN AND CHINESE POSITIONS RATHER THAN TO ENGAGE IN LENGTHY VITRIOLIC EXCHANGES, AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THESE JABS PORTEND WORSENING PRC-US TIES. THEY DEMONSTRATE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRC IS WILLING TO SCORE POINTS OFF THE US AT A TIME WHEN SOME NATIONS PERCEIVE THE US AS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

6. AS EXPECTED, THE QUESTION OF RESTRUCTURING THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTIC CHINESE SUPPORT. CH'IAO--ECHOING THE REMARKS OF THE CHINESE FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER BEFORE THE UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION--CRITICIZED THE SUPERPOWERS' POLICIES OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE OIL PRODUCERS, WHILE PRAISING THE "DIALOGUE" ATTEMPTED BY DEVELOPED, "SECOND WORLD COUNTRIES" AS A "GOOD PHENOMENON." IN AN APPARENT RESPONSE TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 252897

SESSION, CH'IAO ARGUED THAT, UNLESS THE "FREE MARKET" IS COMPLETELY ALTERED, NO NUMBER OF "CONCRETE PROPOSALS" SUBMITTED BY THE SUPERPOWERS WILL AMOUNT TO MORE THAN "ALMS WND RELIEF WHICH CAN AT BEST TEMPORARILY MITIGATE A LITTLE THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BUT WILL NOT HELP THEM SHAKE OFF EXPLOITATION AND CONTROL."

7. IN OTHER AREAS, CH'IAO:

(A)--WAS LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN LAST YEAR IN HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AND EXHORTED VIGILANCE AGAINST THE ATTEMPTS OF "ONE SUPERPOWER" (THE USSR) TO DESTROY ARAB UNITY;

(B)--ASSAILED SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT OF CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA;

(C)--ASSERTED CHINESE SUPPORT FOR UN CHARTER REVISION.

8. A COMPARISON OF KEY ASPECTS OF CH'IAO'S 1975 AND 1974 SPEECHES FOLLOWS:

9. INTRODUCTORY THEME

1975: "A SERIOUS CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS PLAGUES MOST PARTS OF THE WORLD....THE TREND OF REVOLUTION BY THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IS ACTIVELY DEVELOPING....ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

FOR WORLD HEGEMONY HAS BECOME MORE AND MORE INTENSE.... THE DANGER OF WAR IS VISIBLY GROWING."

1974: "NEW AND IMPORTANT VICTORIES HAVE BEEN WON BY...THE THIRD WORLD" IN THE "REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HEGEMONIC POWERS": (1) IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAR; (2) IN THE USE OF OIL AS A "WEAPON"; (3) IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

10. THE US AND THE USSR

1975: (A) "WITH THE SUPERPOWERS CONTENDING SO FIERCELY AND EXPANDING THEIR ARMAMENTS SO MADLY, THEY ARE BOUND CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 252897

TO GO TO WAR AGAINST EACH OTHER SOME DAY...THE DANGER OF WAR COMES MAINLY FROM WILDLY AMBITIOUS SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM."

1974: (A) "CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS...HAS BECOME MORE INTENSE."

1975: (B) THE VLADIVOSTOK STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT IS BETTER CHARACTERIZED AS "AN AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS EXPANSION RATHER THAN AN AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION."

1974: (B) "IT HAS BECOME MORE EVIDENT SINCE THEIR (US-USSR) THIRD SUMMIT TALKS THAT, AT BOTTOM, THESE AGREEMENTS SERVE THE PURPOSE OF BIGGER AND MORE INTENSIFIED CONTENTION."

11. AFRICA

1975: (A) "EVEN BEFORE OLD-LINE COLONIALISM DIES OUT, THE TWO SUPERPOWERS HAVE STEPPED IN. THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG SUPPORTED COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR. THE SOVIET UNION HAS INFILTRATED INTO THE AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT...IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRING THE MOVEMENT WITHIN ITS SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST ORBIT."

1974: (A) CALLED FOR VIGILANCE AGAINST SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO SOW DISCORD AND CONTROL THE AREA.

1975: (B) THE "REVOLUTIONARY DUAL TACTICS" OF THE

ZIMBABWE PEOPLE--TO FIGHT AND NEGOTIATE--RECEIVE FULL CHINESE SUPPORT.

1974: (B) WHILE THE OVERTHROW OF PORTUGAL'S "FASCIST REGIME" IS AN "IMPORTANT EVENT," IT "IN NO WAY" IMPLIES THAT PORTUGAL WILL BRING INDEPENDENCE TO ITS AFRICAN

COLONIES "ON A SILVER PLATTER." "ARMED STRUGGLE" BROUGHT VICTORIES IN GUINEA-BISSAU AND MOZAMBIQUE, BUT "NEGOTIATIONS" FROM TIME TO TIME SHOULD NOT BE "EXCLUDED."
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 252897

1975: (C) THE SOVIETS HAVE "INSTIGATED" THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA WHILE THE CHINESE HAVE CALLED FOR UNITY ALL ALONG.

12. KOREA

1975: (A) "US IMPERIALISM BECAME PANICKY" THIS YEAR AND TALKED OF AN INVASION FROM THE NORTH. THE US AND THE PAK CLIQUE "ACTED THIS WAY MERELY TO CREATE A PRETEXT AND DECEIVE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD SO THAT US TROOPS MAY HANG ON IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE DIVISION OF KOREA MAY BE PERPETUATED."

1974: (A) "IT IS MAINLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE THE BACKING OF US TROOPS THAT THE SOUTH KOREAN AUTHORITIES DARE SO FEVERISHLY TO SUPPRESS THE PEOPLE AND SABOTAGE THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE."

1975: (B) THE US DRAFT RESOLUTION ON TERMINATING THE US COMMAND "IS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE" AND "THE US REPRESENTATIVE'S IDEA" FOR A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS WAYS TO PRESERVE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT "IS OF NO AVAIL." WHAT IS REQUIRED IS THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS AND A PEACE AGREEMENT SIGNED BY THE "REAL PARTIES" OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT.

1974: (B) "THE FOREIGN TROOPS UNDER THE UN FLAG SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH KOREA."

13. MIDDLE EAST

1975: (A) "SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR, THE MIDDLE EAST HAS REVERTED TO A STATE OF 'NO WAR, NO PEACE'" BECAUSE THE SUPERPOWERS HAVE SEEN THEIR OWN BENEFIT AND PROFIT IN A CONTINUED TURBULENCE.

1974: (A) "THE ARAB PEOPLE BROUGHT ABOUT AN EXCELLENT SITUATION THROUGH FIGHTING THE OCTOBER WAR."

1975: (B) "WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTENTION OF BRINGING ABOUT A THOROUGH SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 252897

QUESTION, THE SOVIET UNION IS LESS INCLINED TO DO SO."

1974: (B) "WE HOPE THE UNITED NATIONS WILL RECTIFY ITS LONG-STANDING UNJUST ATTITUDE ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION":

(1) DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION IS "ENTIRELY NECESSARY";

CONFIDENTIAL

(2) THE "GROSS INJUSTICE" OF PAST UN ACTION WAS TO FOCUS ON THE "SO-CALLED 'QUESTION OF REFUGEES.'"

1975: (C) "WHAT CALLS FOR CLOSE ATTENTION AND VIGILANCE NOW IS THAT A SUPERPOWER IS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION TO SOW DISCORD AND ATTEMPT TO UNDER-MINE ARAB UNITY."

14. DISARMAMENT

1975: (A) WARNED THAT BEFORE WORLD WAR II THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SPONSORED A LENGTHY DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE WHICH SERVED TO MASK ARMS BUILDUP BY SOME AND "PUT MANY COUNTRIES OFF GUARD" CAUSING THEM TO BE UNPREPARED WHEN WAR CAME.

1974: (A) SAW THE WORLD AS CLOSER TO WAR "BECAUSE THE SUPERPOWERS, WHEN FACED WITH INCREASINGLY ACUTE ECONOMIC TROUBLES, INEVITABLY TURN TO THE FURTHER MILITARIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AS THE WAY OUT."

1975: (B) CRITICIZED THE SOVIET CALL FOR A MILITARY DETENTE TO MATCH POLITICAL DETENTE AS "A CALCULATED FRAUD" AND SIMILARLY DEBUNKED THREE OTHER SOVIET PROPOSALS.

1974: (B) RIDICULED THE LATEST SOVIET DISARMAMENT "NOVELTY" AS "SO PROFOUNDLY WORDED THAT ONE CANNOT MAKE OUT ITS REAL MEANING."

1915: (C) REITERATED PRC 1973 PRECONDITIONS FOR TRUE DISARMAMENT.

1974: (C) REITERATED THE 1973 POSITION ON PRECONDITIONS FOR A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE: 1) US-USSR ENDORSEMENT OF CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 252897

NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND 2) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THEIR FORCES AND BASES FROM ABROAD.

15. DEVELOPMENT

1975: (A) "THE SITUATION OF THE STRUGGLE IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD...IS EXCELLENT."

1974: (A) DEFENDED USE OF OIL AS A "WEAPON." WARNED THAT THE SUPERPOWERS ARE TRYING TO NEGATE THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON RAW MATERIALS. SAID THE PRESENT "ECONOMIC CRISIS" HAS BEEN BROUGHT ON BY FAILURE OF THE "IMPERIALIST SYSTEM," BUT THAT THE "IMPERIALISTS" WILL TRY TO SHIFT THE COSTS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

1975: (B) SUPPORTED THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER AND THE ATTITUDE OF SOME INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES TO HAVE A DIALOGUE WITH THE THIRD WORLD. STRONGLY CONDEMNED SUPERPOWER ABUSE AND THREATS AGAINST THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES. IN THE CONTEXT OF PRAISING SUCH THIRD WORLD PROPOSALS AS "INDEXATION OF PRICES," ARGUED THAT ANY "CONCRETE PROPOSALS" BY THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES WILL NOT AFFECT THE "ROOT CAUSE" OF WORLD INEQUALITY UNTIL THE FREE MARKET IS REPLACED.

1975: (C) "ALL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD UNITE MORE CLOSELY." THE NEEDIEST SHOULD BE AIDED BY THE OTHERS BUT ARE IN NO WAY A "FOURTH WORLD."

16. UN CHARTER REVIEW

1975: FAVORED CONSIDERATION OF PROPOSED CHANGES. INGERSOLL

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